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THE COVENANT OF NOAH IN *JUBILEES* 6.1-38

JACQUES VAN RUITEN

In this contribution I begin with a short survey of the *Book of Jubilees*,¹ where the term 'covenant' (*kidān*) is mentioned. I omit from the discussion those passages that might presuppose the concept of the covenant, but in which the term itself is not used (e.g. *Jub.* 2.17-33).² Then I concentrate more closely on *Jub.* 6.1-38, a central passage with regard to the covenant. The covenant of Noah is considered the beginning and prototype for all other covenants.

¹ For the critical edition of *Jubilees*, see J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510, *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1989). All translations of *Jubilees* are taken from: J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511, *Scriptores Aethiopici* 88; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1989). *Jubilees* is written somewhere in the middle of the second century BCE. This is not the place to explore the exact date. For a discussion see, e.g., R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (London: A. & C. Black, 1902), pp. lvii-lxvi; G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB 20; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 10-18; J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), pp. 214-85; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: SCM Press, 1981), p. 78; K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ 5.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1981), pp. 298-300; O.S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), II, pp. 43-44; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ: 175 B.C.-A.D. 135* (vol. 3; ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, rev. edn, 1986), pp. 308-18.

² For this approach, which is much broader in scope, see B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), pp. 25-54.

THE COVENANT IN THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In *Jubilees* the word *kidān* ('covenant') occurs twenty-seven times, seventeen times without suffix (6.4, 10b, 11a, 11b, 16, 17, 35; 14.18; 15.19, 26, 28, 29; 16.14; 21.11; 22.15, 30), eight times with first-person singular suffix ('my covenant': 1.10; 15.4, 9, 11, 13, 14, 19, 21), once with third-person masculine singular suffix ('his covenant': 15.34) and once with second-person masculine singular suffix ('your covenant': 22.30). The term's occurrence is concentrated mostly in *Jubilees* 6 (seven times), which is a parallel of Gen. 8.20–9.17, and in *Jubilees* 15 (twelve times), a parallel of Genesis 17.

Twelve times, the word *kidān* in *Jubilees* runs parallel with ברית in Genesis (*Jub.* 6.4, 10, 16; 14.18; 15.4, 9, 11, 13, 14, 19 [2x], 21);³ eleven times *Jubilees* contains the word 'covenant' in a passage with no parallel in Genesis or Exodus (*Jub.* 6.11 [2x], 17; 14.20 [2x]; 15.26, 28, 29, 34; 16.14; 21.11).⁴ Finally, fifteen times *Jubilees* omits the word ברית from Genesis and Exodus (cf. Gen. 6.18; 9.12, 15, 16, 17; 14.13; 17.7, 10 [2x], 11, 13; 21.27, 32; 26.28; 31.44; Exod. 2.24; 6.4, 5; 19.5). It is striking that the word *kidān* is not used in cases where ברית is used to denote a covenant between people (Gen. 14.13; 21.27, 32; 26.28; 31.44). In contrast to this is the use of *kidān* in cases of a covenant between people, which has no parallel in Genesis 1–Exodus 19. In *Jub.* 6.10 Noah makes a covenant with his sons before God, whereas in 6.11 Moses makes a covenant with the people. Both cases, however, parallel biblical texts in which God makes a covenant, with either Noah or Moses. Apparently, the author of *Jubilees* set aside the word *kidān* for the covenant between God and men, not for that between people only. Nevertheless, there might be a horizontal aspect involved in the covenant between God and men.

³ These texts run parallel respectively with Gen. 9.9, 11, 13; 17.2, 7, 9, 13, 14, 19 (2x), 21.

⁴ The word ברית occurs thirty-two times in Genesis 1–Exodus 19, of which fifteen times without suffix (Gen. 9.12, 13, 16, 17; 14.13; 15.18; 17.7, 11, 13, 19; 21.27, 32; 26.28; 31.44); seventeen times with first-person singular suffix בריתי ('my covenant': Gen. 6.18; 9.9, 11, 15; 17.2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21; Exod. 6.4, 5; 19.5); once with third-person masculine singular suffix בריתו ('his covenant': Exod. 2.24). Most occurrences are in Gen. 9.8–17 (seven times) and Genesis 17 (thirteen times).

As concerns the use of the verbs, *takāyda kidān* is the equivalent of both *הקים ברית* (Gen. 9.9, 11; 17.7; cf. *Jub.* 6.4, 10b; 15.9)⁵ and *כרת ברית* (Gen. 15.18; cf. *Jub.* 14.18).⁶ It occurs also in texts with no parallel in Genesis: twice in *Jub.* 6.11 (one is the equivalent of *כרת ברית* in Exod. 24.8) and *Jub.* 14.20. The expression *ʿaqama kidān* is the equivalent of only *הקים ברית* (Gen. 17.19, 21; cf. *Jub.* 15.19, 21), and *wahabu kidān* of *נתן ברית* (Gen. 17.2; cf. *Jub.* 15.4). The construction *ʿaqaba kidān* is the equivalent of *שמר ברית* (Gen. 17.9; cf. *Jub.* 15.11); *nasatu nidān* is the equivalent of *הפר ברית* (Gen. 17.14; cf. *Jub.* 15.14, 26) and, finally, *ḥaddasa nidān* (6.17; 22.15, 30) has no equivalent in Genesis.⁷ The expression *זכר ברית* (Exod. 2.24; 6.5) has no equivalent in *Jubilees*.

The covenant is made between God and Noah (Gen. 6.18; 9.8-17; *Jub.* 6.4), God and Abraham (Gen. 15.18; 17.1-27; *Jub.* 14.18-20; 15.1-32), God and Isaac (Gen. 17.19, 21; *Jub.* 15.19, 21), God and the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Exod. 2.24; 6.4, 5), and God and Israel (Exod. 19.5; cf. *Jub.* 6.11 which is a parallel of Exod. 24.8). In addition, *Jubilees* uses the word 'covenant' in relation to the covenant between God and Jacob (22.15, 30), Noah and his sons before the Lord (6.10), Moses and the children of Israel (6.11), and between the angels and Abraham and Noah (14.20). In most cases the covenant is made not only with the patriarch, but also with posterity (cf. Gen. 9.9-17; 17.1-27; *Jub.* 6.10, 17-19; 15.9, 11, 19, 28, 29; 22.15, 30). The parallel texts of Gen. 26.28 and 31.44 do not speak of a covenant, but covenant ceremonies seem to be present: swearing an oath (*Jub.* 24.25-27; 29.7) and having a meal (*Jub.* 29.7). Finally, the covenants between people (Abraham and Abimelek [Gen. 21.27, 32], Isaac and Abimelek [Gen. 26.28], and Jacob and Laban [Gen. 31.44]) are not mentioned as covenants in *Jubilees*.

Sometimes the making of the covenant is accompanied by certain ceremonies. With regard to the first covenant of God and Abr(ah)am, both in Genesis (15.1-21) and *Jubilees* (14.1-20), three animals of three years old are taken (a bull, goat and sheep), as well as a turtle-dove and a pigeon. The animals (but not the birds) are cut in two, each half laid over the other. After a theophany (Gen. 15.13-16; *Jub.* 14.13-

⁵ *הקים ברית* occurs also in Gen. 6.18; 9.17. These texts have no equivalent in *Jubilees*. For Gen. 17.19, 21 see below.

⁶ *כרת ברית* occurs also in Gen. 21.27, 32 (Abraham and Abimelek); 26.28 (Isaac and Abimelek); 31.44 (Jacob and Laban).

⁷ Cf. Jer. 31.31.

16), a smoking fire pot and flaming torch were passed between these pieces (Gen. 15.17; *Jub.* 14.17). In addition to this, *Jubilees* states explicitly that Abr(ah)am *offered* the pieces and the birds (cf. *Jub.* 14.19). With regard to the second covenant between God and Abraham (Gen. 17.1-27; *Jub.* 15.1-34), both texts mention circumcision (Gen. 17.9-14, 23-27; *Jub.* 15.23-24, 25-34). Additionally, *Jubilees* describes the offerings on the occasion of the festival of the first fruits (15.1-2), which is the Festival of Weeks. Preceding the promise of the renewal of the covenant of God with Jacob (*Jub.* 22.15, 30), the celebration of the Festival of Weeks with the appropriate offerings is mentioned (*Jub.* 22.1-9).

The covenant is a sort of agreement between two parties, and it presupposes a commitment from both sides. Genesis stresses the commitment from the side of God: the promise not to destroy the earth by the Flood again (Gen. 9.11, 15-16; cf. 8.21-22), the promise of the land to the patriarchs' descendants (Gen. 15.18-21; 17.8), fertility (Gen. 17.2-6, 20), and that God will be *their* God (Gen. 17.8). The commitment from the men is in fact restricted to the commandment of circumcision (Gen. 17.9-14, 22-27). *Jubilees* takes over the commitment from the side of God (*Jub.* 6.4, 15-16; 14.18; 15.4, 7-10, 20; 22.15), but it stresses more than does Genesis the commitment from the men. I refer not only to the law of circumcision (Gen. 17.11-16, 23-34), but also to the oath not to consume any blood (6.10, 11-14), and the keeping of the Festival of Weeks (6.17-22).

THE COVENANT IN JUBILEES 6.1-38

I concentrate more closely now on the covenant of Noah, which occurs in *Jub.* 6.1-38 (cf. vv. 4, 10, 11).⁸ This chapter, which describes the covenant in relation to the aftermath of the Flood, is a rewriting and interpretation of Gen. 8.20-9.17. First, I give an overall comparison between Gen. 8.20-9.13 and *Jubilees* 6. Then, I discuss the covenant of Noah and of Moses, and their relationship.

⁸ Some of the results of this research are also presented in: J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 215-56.

An Overall Comparison between Genesis 8.20–9.17 and Jubilees 6.1-38

Jubilees 6.1-38 parallels the story of Gen. 8.20–9.17. Nevertheless, there are several transformations, of which the extensive additions especially catch the eye. The chapter is tripartite: (1) 6.1-14 (the covenant); (2) 6.15-22 (the sign of the covenant); (3) 6.23-38 (the calendar). Each section is structured in the same way, consisting of two parts, the first of which is linked with the biblical text of Genesis, and which deals with an event in the life of Noah in connection with the Flood (cf. 6.1-10, 15-17, 23-27). The second part deals with the significance of the story of Noah for later generations. This second part contains two subdivisions, the first of which is introduced by 'for this reason' (6.11a, 17a, 28a), and which deals with the significance of the story either for Moses (6.11-12), or for later generations, written on the heavenly tables (6.17-19, 28-31). The second subdivision is introduced by 'now you command the Israelites' (6.13-14, 20-22, 32-37). By ordering his material in this way, the author achieves the intent that the covenant of Moses and the accompanying prescriptions are presented as a recurrence and imitation of the covenant and prescriptions of Noah. Moses is renewing what Noah has done before. At the same time elements of the covenant and law of Moses found in the Pentateuch are antedated and put back into the time of Noah (e.g. the Festival of Weeks). Other elements cannot be found in the Pentateuch, but are nevertheless presented as laws of Moses, which are an imitation of the law of Noah (e.g., the solar calendar).

The central theme in the first part (6.1-14) is the making of the covenant (6.4b, 10b, 11ab) and the most important condition for it, i.e., the prohibition from consuming blood (6.7, 12bc, 13a). The blood is destined for other purposes: to atone (6.2c), to sprinkle on the people because of the words of the covenant (6.11b), and to make supplications in front of the altar (6.14c). The second part (6.15-22) speaks about the *sign* of the covenant. After the Flood the sign is the rainbow in the clouds (6.15-17). Later, the Festival of Weeks becomes the sign (6.17-18). After the death of Noah the Festival is corrupted (6.18b-19), and therefore it is renewed and commanded for later generations (6.20-22). The third part (6.23-38) deals with the correct calendar of 364 days or fifty-two weeks, divided into four periods of thirteen weeks, each of which begin with a memorial festival. Noah ordained them as memorials of important events of the Flood (6.23-27). They are written down on the heavenly tablets (6.28-31), and

commanded to the children of Israel (6.32), although they will forget these days and keep the wrong calendar (6.32-37). The whole is concluded in 6.38.

The following scheme should facilitate the overall comparison between Gen. 8.20–9.17 and *Jub.* 6.1-38:

| <i>Genesis 8.20–9.17</i> | <i>Jubilees 6.1-38</i> |
|---|--|
| <p>A. The offering of Noah and reaction of YHWH (8.20-22)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. 8.20: <i>Offering of Noah</i> b. 8.21-22: <i>Reaction of YHWH</i> <p>B. Other reactions of God (9.1-17)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 9.1-7: <i>Blessing of God (including the prohibition of eating flesh with its blood)</i> 2. 9.8-17: The covenant <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. 9.8-11: <u><i>making the covenant</i></u> b. 9.12-17: <i>sign of the covenant (rainbow in the clouds)</i> | <p>A. The covenant (6.1-14)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 6.1-10: covenant of Noah <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. 6.1-3: <i>Offerings of Noah</i> b. 6.4-9: <i>Reaction of the Lord</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) 6.4: <u><i>making the covenant</i></u> (2) 6.5-9: <i>Blessing of God (including the prohibition of eating flesh with its blood)</i> c. 6.10: <i>reaction of Noah (oath; covenant)</i> 2. 6.11-12: COVENANT OF MOSES 3. 6.13-14: COMMANDMENT TO THE ISRAELITES <p>B. The sign of the covenant (6.15-22)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 6.15-16: <i>sign of the covenant (rainbow in the clouds)</i> 2. 6.17-19: FESTIVAL OF WEEKS (ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS) 3. 6.20-22: COMMANDMENT TO THE ISRAELITES <p>C. The calendar (6.23-37)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 6.23-27: FOUR MEMORIAL DAYS OF THE FLOOD 2. 6.28-31: FOUR MEMORIAL FESTIVALS (ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS) 3. 6.32-37: COMMANDMENT TO THE ISRAELITES <p>CONCLUSION (6.38)</p> |

As concerns the content, most parts of the biblical account also occur in the rendering of *Jubilees*: the sacrifice of Noah (Gen. 8.20; *Jub.* 6.3), the reaction of God (Gen. 8.21-22; *Jub.* 6.4), the commandment to be fruitful (Gen. 9.1, 7; *Jub.* 6.5, 9), the animals as food (Gen. 9.3; *Jub.* 6.6), the prohibition to consume blood (Gen. 9.4-6; *Jub.* 6.7-8), the making of the covenant (Gen. 9.8-11; *Jub.* 6.4, 10), the promise that the destruction of the earth by flood will never happen again (Gen. 9.11, 15; cf. Gen. 8.21; *Jub.* 6.4, 16), and the sign of the covenant (Gen. 9.12-17; *Jub.* 6.15-16). Only a few elements of Genesis are *omitted* in *Jubilees*, e.g., the mention of the animals. In *Jubilees* God does not require their blood (cf. Gen. 9.5b), nor does he make a covenant with them (cf. Gen. 9.10).

It is striking that most of the text of Genesis is related in direct speech (8.21b-22d; 9.1b-7d, 8-11, 12-16, 17), with a small part written in narrative (8.20-21a; 9.1a). *Jubilees* itself is a direct speech of the angel to Moses (cf. 2.1). Most of the parallel parts are put in the narrative (6.1-4, 10, 15-16) within this direct speech. Only 6.5-9 (cf. Gen. 9.1-7) is presented as an (embedded) direct speech, but here an introduction formula is lacking.

The extensive *additions* in the text of *Jubilees* are most conspicuous. They are concerned with the significance of the story of Noah for later generations (6.11-14, 17-22, 28-38). The addition in 6.23-27 refers back to the story of the Flood and has no counterpart in the biblical text. It functions as a conclusion to the Flood story, and interprets it as an inauguration of the proper calendar.

The Covenant of Noah and of Moses (Jubilees 6.1-14 and Genesis 8.20-9.11)

In the first section of *Jubilees* 6, several partners are involved in the covenant. The covenant is made between God and Noah (6.4), between Noah and his sons (6.10), between Moses and the Israelites (6.11a), and between God and the Israelites (6.11b). A remarkable difference between Genesis and *Jubilees* is that in Genesis God makes a covenant with all creatures, including animals (cf. Gen. 9.10, 12, 15, 16, 17). In *Jubilees*, God does not make a covenant with the animals.

The covenant of Noah occurs in *Jub.* 6.1-10. The concluding of the covenant (6.4b, 10b) and the time of it (6.1a, 10b) are mentioned at the beginning and end of this passage. The text is linked with all three subdivisions of the biblical text: the sacrifice of Noah and the reaction of God (6.1-4; cf. Gen. 8.20-22); the commandment to be fruitful and

fill the earth and the prohibition to consume the blood (6.5-9; cf. Gen. 9.1-7); and finally, the making of the covenant (6.4, 10; cf. Gen. 9.8-11). The structure of Genesis is, in a certain way, broken up in *Jubilees*. Genesis draws a process in three stages: (1) sacrifice and reaction; (2) blessing; (3) the covenant and its sign. *Jubilees* has the following structure: (1) the actions of Noah (6.1-3); (2) the reaction of the Lord, which includes not only the smelling (6.4a), and a promise (6.4d-f), but also the covenant (6.4bc), and the conditions of the covenant (6.5-9); (3) finally, the reaction of Noah (6.10). The sign of the covenant is, in Genesis, part of the making of the covenant, whereas in *Jubilees* it is seen as an independent stage. With this rearrangement of structure the author of *Jubilees* makes explicit that the covenant, which is initiated by God, is a reaction to the sacrifice of Noah. Moreover, in Genesis the commandments are presented as part of a blessing, while in *Jubilees* they are the necessary conditions of the covenant.

God and Noah (Jubilees 6.4)

The following observations can be made with regard to the covenant in 6.4. Both Gen. 8.21-22 and *Jub.* 6.4 describe the reaction of God to the offering of Noah. In Genesis he conceives a plan (9.21b: 'YHWH said in his heart') not to curse the ground any more, and not to destroy every living creature. Henceforth, the earth will take up its usual pattern. The promise is described as a reaction to the offering of Noah, but it seems also to be motivated by the observation that 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth'. *Jubilees* makes the reaction of God more active. God does not speak a promise in his heart, but makes a covenant with Noah. The text does not refer to the wickedness of men as motivation for the end of the Flood. Finally, *Jubilees* refers *expressis verbis* back to the waters of the Flood (6.4c)—although 6.4bc ('He made a covenant with him that there would be no flood waters which would destroy the earth') can be considered as a variation of Gen. 8.21. The text, however, runs parallel with Gen. 9.11 ('I make my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of a flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth'). It is therefore a case of rearrangement. *Jubilees* replaces the direct speech of Gen. 9.11 by a narrative text. Because of this, the first person singular changes to 'the Lord', and the second person masculine changes to third person. Moreover, *Jubilees* omits the first-person singular suffix of the word 'covenant'. Finally,

Jubilees reads 'flood waters' instead of 'Flood', but 'flood waters' occurs also in Gen. 9.11b. Several reasons seem to have motivated the omission in Gen. 8.21. In the first place, there is overlap between the wording and content of Gen. 8.21 and 9.11. The content of 9.11 was more appropriate for the author of *Jubilees*, because it mentions explicitly the 'flood waters', whereas Gen. 8.21 does not. Moreover, the cursing of the ground in Gen. 8.21c (לא אסף לקלל עוד את האדמה) (בעבור האדם) very much resembles Gen. 3.17, the curse uttered in the Garden of Eden, although the verb used is different: 'cursed is the ground on account of you' (ארורה האדמה בעבורך), and which is spoken to 'the man' (האדם). Genesis 3.17 is taken over in *Jub.* 3.25, where the addressee is 'Adam'. It is somewhat peculiar that the aftermath of the Flood would refer to an episode in the Garden of Eden. In the name-giving of Noah (Gen. 5.29; *Jub.* 4.28) it is said that Noah would give consolation 'from the ground that YHWH has cursed'. This does not only refer back to Gen. 3.17, but it points forward to Noah's discovery of the vine (Gen. 8.20; cf. *Jub.* 7.1).⁹ Outside of Gen. 8.21c, neither ארר nor קלל (*piel*) is used in relation to the Flood.¹⁰ Genesis 8.21d כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו ('for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth') is not taken over, probably because it is in contradiction with Gen. 6.5b (וכל יצר מחשבת לבו רק רע כל היום) ('every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil all days'), which is taken over with some modifications by *Jub.* 5.2. The two biblical verses have many similarities,¹¹ and the same motivation for the coming of the Flood is now the reason for the promise not to bring the Flood again. By omitting Gen. 8.21d the author of *Jubilees* harmonises the biblical text.¹² The omission of

⁹ J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910), p. 133; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (BKAT 1.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 4th edn, 1999), p. 488.

¹⁰ In Genesis 1–11 the root ארר occurs, apart from Gen. 3.17; 5.29, also in Gen. 3.14; 4.11; 9.25, but there the object is not the earth. The root קלל (*piel*) occurs within the primeval history only in Gen. 8.21.

¹¹ Note the omissions of כל ('all'), מחשבת ('thoughts'), and רק ('only') of Gen. 6.5b in Gen. 8.21c. Moreover, מנעוריו ('from his youth') replaces כל היום ('all days').

¹² Genesis 8.21d is somewhat peculiar. It qualifies the promise of God not to bring the flood again as one that is done with great reluctance; God does not bring the flood again, because it does not help. See Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 158; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 9th edn, 1977), pp. 7, 68. It might be possible to interpret כי in Gen. 8.21d concessively ('although the

8.21e (ולא אסף עוד להכות את כל חי כאשר עשיתי): 'neither will I ever again destroy every living creature as I have done') should be seen in connection with the omission of Gen. 9.11b ('that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of a flood'). Both sentences, in themselves, seem to express that a death penalty will no longer occur. However, this is in contradiction with the sanction of the biblical laws where capital punishment is mentioned. As with Gen. 8.21d, the author of *Jubilees* harmonises the biblical text by omitting Gen. 8.21e.¹³

In the conclusion of 6.4, there are some minor additions. According to *Jubilees* not only the days and seasons will continue, but they will also follow 'their prescribed pattern' (*šer'etomu*): '...all the days of the earth seedtime and harvest would not cease; cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night would not change their prescribed pattern and would not cease forever'. The term 'prescribed pattern' occurs also in *Jub.* 5.2-3, where it is used with regard to the animate beings, who acted wickedly, and therefore corrupted their prescribed course, and in *Jub.* 6.33-34 where it is used with regard to the correct calendar. Also, the verb *šer'e* is used in 6.17 with regard to the Festival of Weeks, in 6.23c, 24, 28, 35d with regard to the four memorial festivals, which guarantee the existence of the 364-day calendar. The use of the word 'the prescribed pattern' (*šere'tet*) in 6.4 anticipates and guarantees the true calendar. The inauguration of this calendar, therefore, is part of the covenant. The permanent character of the natural order is stressed by the use of the extra 'would not cease', and the addition of 'forever'.

Noah and his Sons before God (Jubilees 6.10)

This verse forms the conclusion of the passage 6.1-10. Elements from 6.1-4 (6.10b: month, making a covenant) and 6.5-9 (6.10a: the prohibition to eat blood) reappear in reversed order. Strictly speaking, 6.10 is ('Noah and his sons swore an oath not to consume any blood that was in any animate being. During this month he made a covenant before the Lord God forever throughout all the generations of the earth') the parallel of Gen. 9.8-11. The resemblance between the two texts,

imagination...'). So U. Wöller, 'Zu Übersetzung von ki in Gen 8.21 und 9.6', *ZAW* 94 (1982), pp. 637-38.

¹³ Cf. *Jub.* 6.16b, which stresses that 'the earth' will not be destroyed again, whereas the biblical text (Gen. 9.15) says that 'the animate beings' will not be destroyed again.

however, is limited to the words 'Noah and his sons' (6.10; Gen. 9.8), and 'making of the covenant' (6.10b; Gen. 9.9, 11). Moreover, the syntactical connection of these words in the context is different in the two texts. The direct speech of Genesis is omitted and replaced by a narrative. In Genesis, it is God who makes a covenant with Noah, whereas in *Jubilees* it is Noah who makes a covenant, *before* the Lord God. Whereas Genesis refers in 9.8-11 for the first time explicitly to the covenant, in *Jubilees* it is the second time. The first time is the reaction of the Lord to the offering of Noah (6.4), the second time it is Noah who makes a covenant (6.10). A horizontal aspect enters in the conception of the covenant. In Gen. 9.8-11 it is a one-sided promise of God not to bring the Flood again. In *Jubilees* it is an act of Noah and his sons, who not only actively enter the covenant with God ('they swore an oath'), but also make a covenant amongst themselves. In contrast to Genesis, the reaction of man is underlined. What is interesting is the omission of the animals with which God also makes the covenant (Gen. 9.10) in *Jubilees*. This is in line with omission in *Jubilees* of the animals of Gen. 9.12-17, where the covenant is between God and 'every living creature'.¹⁴ The animals do not have full responsibility for their deeds after the Flood.¹⁵ Man has dominion over the animals, and the animals fear man (*Jub.* 6.5). There is no direct covenant relation between God and animals. Finally, the durability of the covenant (*Jub.* 6.10: 'forever throughout all the generations of the earth') can be considered as a variation of 'your descendants after you' (Gen. 9.9), whereas the second mention of the covenant (Gen. 9.11) is an addition with regard to *Jub.* 6.10. However, this verse is referred to in *Jub.* 6.4bc.

God, Moses and the Israelites (Jubilees 6.11-14)

In *Jub.* 6.11-14, the prohibition from consuming blood is presented as the most important stipulation of the covenant of Moses. In reality, it refers to one element of the legislation of Sinai, which was accompanied by the making of a covenant. *Jubilees* 6.11-14 is an addition with

¹⁴ Cf. also the omission of Gen. 9.5b, where the blood is required from 'every animal'. The understanding of (ת)יח could be influenced by the view of the author of *Jubilees* of the role of the animals after the flood.

¹⁵ Before the Flood, *Jubilees* states, against Genesis, that the animals also corrupted their way (5.2-3). The reason for their mention before the flood is that it would otherwise be incomprehensible that the animals would also be destroyed in the Flood (5.4, 20; cf. Gen. 6.7, 13).

regard to the biblical text. It is joined together very well with the preceding passage, 6.1-10. The angel, who is speaking directly to Moses, refers explicitly to the covenant of Noah ('for this reason'). The covenant of Noah is presented as an example, a paradigm of the covenant of Moses with the Israelites.¹⁶ *Jubilees* 6.11-14 is composed of two parts: 6.11-12, in which Moses is charged to make a covenant on the mountain in the same month, and 6.13-14, in which Moses is commanded to pass on to the Israelites the prohibition from consuming blood. Several words and phrases from 6.1-10 occur also in 6.11-14. The resemblance between the two covenants¹⁷ concerns the time of the making of the covenant ('during this month': 6.1, 10, 11), the location ('this mountain': 6.1, 11),¹⁸ the heart of the covenant, i.e., the prohibition from consuming blood (6.7, 12, 13), the use of the blood on the altar to make atonement (6.2, 14), and the confirmation of the covenant by an oath (6.10, 11). Whereas the covenant of Noah in Genesis is unconditional (the Lord promises that the flood water would not destroy the earth again), in *Jubilees* the conditions of the covenant (6.5-9, 10) are mentioned explicitly between the making of the covenant by God (6.4) and the accepting of the covenant by Noah (6.10). It assimilates the covenant of Noah to that of Moses. In 6.11-14 the penalty for offending the conditions of the covenant are explicitly mentioned, i.e., the extermination from the earth (6.12; cf. 6.13).

Although *Jub.* 6.11-14 is an addition with regard to the biblical text of Genesis, the author has incorporated several other texts from the Old Testament. In these texts blood is the central theme: the blood that Moses sprinkled on the people because of the words of the covenant that the Lord made with Israel (6.11b; Exod. 24.8); the prohibition from consuming blood (6.12b, 13a; Gen. 6.4; Lev. 17.10, 12, 14;

¹⁶ According to Müller, the covenant of Moses is presented in *Jubilees* as a repetition and imitation of the covenant of Noah. Cf. K. Müller, 'Die hebräische Sprache der Halacha als Textur der Schöpfung: Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Tora und Halacha im Buch der Jubiläen', in H. Merklein, K. Müller and G. Stemberger (eds.), *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition* (BBB 38; Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1993), pp. 157-76, esp. p. 167.

¹⁷ The phrase 'to make a covenant', in the sense of a covenant between God and man, can be found in 6.4b, 11b; in the sense of a covenant between man and man it is found in 6.10b, 11a.

¹⁸ The mountain of Noah is Ararat, and the mountain of Moses is Sinai. However, by omitting the names the parallelism between the events is strengthened.

Deut. 12.23); the penalty for ignoring the prohibition (6.12c, 14f.; Lev. 17.10, 14); the supplication with blood in front of the altar (6.14c; Lev. 17.11).

The author of *Jubilees* undeniably refers to the making of the covenant in Exodus 24. I point especially to the similarity between *Jub.* 6.11 and Exod. 24.8:

| Exodus 24.7-8 | Jubilees 6.11 |
|--|--|
| <p>7a THEN HE TOOK THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT,</p> <p>7b AND READ IT IN THE HEARING OF THE PEOPLE;</p> <p>7c AND THEY SAID:</p> <p>7d 'ALL THAT YHWH HAS SPOKEN, WE WILL DO, AND WE WILL BE OBEDIENT'.</p> <p>8a AND MOSES TOOK THE BLOOD</p> <p>8b <i>and sprinkled it on the people,</i></p> <p>8c AND SAID:</p> <p>8d 'BEHOLD, THE BLOOD of the covenant which YHWH has made with <i>you</i> IN ACCORDANCE WITH <u>all these words</u>'</p> | <p>11a FOR THIS REASON HE TOLD YOU, TOO, TO MAKE A COVENANT—ACCOMPANIED BY AN OATH—WITH THE ISRAELITES DURING THIS MONTH ON THE MOUNTAIN</p> <p>[]</p> <p>b <i>and to sprinkle blood on them</i></p> <p>BECAUSE OF <u>all the words</u> of the covenant which the Lord was making with <i>them</i> FOR ALL TIMES.</p> |

The collocation of the words 'sprinkle' (זרק) and 'blood' (דם) occurs in several places in the Old Testament. Usually, the blood is sprinkled on the 'altar' (Exod. 24.6; 29.16, 20; Lev. 1.5, 11; 3.2, 8, 13; 7.2, 14; 8.19, 24; 9.12, 18; 17.6; Num. 18.17; 2 Kgs 16.13, 15; Ezek. 43.18; 2 Chr. 29.22; 30.16; 35.11). Only once (Exod. 24.8b) is the blood sprinkled on the people. Moreover, the Lord makes a covenant 'in accordance with all these words' (Exod. 24.8d). The continuation in *Jubilees* (6.11b) comes close to Exod. 24.8d, with some variation in the syntactical structure. Whereas in Exodus there is an identification of the blood Moses is sprinkling and the blood of the covenant, in *Jubilees* Moses sprinkles the blood on the people '*because* (of all the words) of the covenant'. With the reference to Exod. 24.8, the author

of *Jubilees* also gives an explanation of the gesture of Moses, which is difficult to explain.¹⁹ The sprinkling of the blood could be a reminder of the most important condition of the covenant of Noah, i.e., not to consume blood.²⁰ The sprinkling of the blood is a signal that Moses has renewed the covenant of Noah. Although Exod. 24.8 does not refer to an oath with regard to the covenant, the people at all times do endorse the conditions of the covenant (cf. Exod. 24.3, 7).²¹

The prohibition from consuming blood is an element common to the covenants of Noah (cf. Gen. 9.4) and Moses (Lev. 3.17; 7.26-27; 17.10-14; 19.26; Deut. 12.16, 23-24; 15.23). The prohibition appears within the framework of the offering legislation in Leviticus. In this legislation the use of the blood in the cult is dealt with in several places.²² In this context in Lev. 3.17, as appendix to the peace offering, the apodictic formulated prohibition occurs for the first time: 'You may not eat any fat nor any blood' (כל חלב וכל דם לא תאכלו). This prohibition applies to 'all your dwelling places' (בכל מושבתיכם), and 'forever throughout your generations' (עולם לדורותיכם). In Lev. 7.22-27 the prohibition occurs a second time, again as appendix after the peace offering. Some specifications are given with regard to the prohibition from consuming blood (7.26-27): 'in any of your dwellings' and of blood 'of bird or of cattle'. The sanction that the offender 'shall be cut off from his people' the third time the prohibition occurs is in Lev. 17.10-14. Here also a motivation is given. It is striking that

¹⁹ Cf. *Tg. Onq.* Exod. 24.8: 'And Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the altar to atone for the people'. According to *Tg. Onq.* the phrase 'to sprinkle on the people' means 'to sprinkle on account of the people'. See J.L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 413.

²⁰ Kugel, *Bible*, pp. 413-14.

²¹ The beginning of the book (1.1-4) runs parallel with the continuation of Exod. 24.3-8, namely Exod. 24.12-18. It is interesting to note that Moses ascends the mountain on the sixteenth of the third month (1.1). The revelation of the book of *Jubilees* is dictated by the angel of the presence to Moses (1.27-2.1) from this day onwards (1.1-4). The making of the covenant and its renewals take place, according to *Jubilees*, on the fifteenth of the third month. This would mean that 6.11-12 refers to a ceremony that has just taken place.

²² See especially the 'small ritual of blood' and the 'large ritual of blood' with regard to several offerings; cf. H. Gese, 'Die Sühne', in *idem, Zur biblischen Theologie: Alttestamentliche Vorträge* (Munich: Kaiser, 1977); B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und zur Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (WMANT 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), pp. 221-65.

the preceding passage speaks about ‘peace offering’ (cf. Lev. 17.5). The connection between the peace offering and the prohibition from consuming blood is somewhat peculiar, because the peace offering is not an offering for atonement of sins but of thanksgiving, a free-will offering.

In Lev. 17.10 the prohibition is formulated several times (17.10, 12bc, 14c). Besides a sanction (17.10bc, 14e), a motivation is also given. Leviticus 17.11 formulates both an anthropological (Lev. 17.11a: ‘For the life of animate beings is in the blood’; cf. 17.14a, d) as well as a theological foundation (17.11c: ‘for it is the blood that makes atonement by reason of the life’). This twofold foundation encircles the divine stipulation for the use of the sacrificial blood (17.11b: ‘and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls’). The expiatory blood is presented as a gift of God. YHWH gave the Israelites the blood, because, and thus far, the blood is the carrier of life, with the aim to make atonement.²³ In this way the anthropological and theological motivations are intrinsically linked.

The author of *Jubilees* probably does not refer to one of these texts specifically, but to the prohibition in general. The wording of 6.12, however, comes close to Lev. 7.26-27, the first place in the legislation of Sinai where the prohibition is mentioned:

| Leviticus 7.26-27 | Jubilees 6.12 |
|--|---|
| 7.26a You may not [] eat any blood whether of <i>bird</i> or of <i>cattle</i> IN ANY OF YOUR DWELLINGS. | 6.12b ... you may not AT ANY TIME eat any blood of <i>animals</i> or <i>birds</i> THROUGH-OUT ALL THE DAYS OF THE EARTH. |
| b (As for) the person who has eaten ANY blood [] <i>that person shall be cut off from his people</i> | c (As for) the person who has eaten the [] blood OF AN ANIMAL, OF CAT-TLE, OR OF BIRDS DURING ALL THE DAYS OF THE EARTH—he AND HIS DESCENDANTS <i>will be uprooted from the earth.</i> |

²³ Instrumental interpretation of the preposition ׀ prefixed to the word שִׂבָּ in Lev. 17.11c.

Both *Jubilees* and Leviticus mention the prohibition.²⁴ Both also mention a specification of whose blood is not to be consumed. Leviticus 7.26 mentions 'bird' and 'cattle' (בהמה), whereas *Jub.* 6.12 speaks about 'animals' and 'birds'. However, the next sentence speaks not only about the 'animal' and the 'bird' but also of the 'cattle'. It is interesting to note that Lev. 17.13 speaks in the same context about 'animal (חיה) or bird'. Although it speaks about these animals with regard to hunting, the prohibition from consuming blood is the heart of the matter. The author of *Jubilees* might have conflated the two texts. In Lev. 7.26 a location is mentioned ('in any of your dwellings').²⁵ This is omitted in *Jubilees*, probably because this legislation is applied not only to Israel but to all humanity (cf. 7.31). In contrast to this, *Jubilees* puts a strong emphasis on the aspect of time, not only in 6.12bc ('at any time'; 'throughout all the days of the earth'), but also in 6.12a, 13-14. This aspect is absent in 7.26-27; 17.10-14. Leviticus 3.17, however, speaks of a statute 'forever', 'throughout your generations'. As the sanction is concerned, the author of *Jubilees* does not say that the individual will be cut off from among his people,²⁶ but that he will be uprooted from the earth, and this applies to all days.²⁷ The author of *Jubilees* intensifies the prohibition: it applies not only to Israel, but to *all humanity*, and it applies *always*. This means that the universal aspect of the covenant of Noah is transferred to the Sinaitic covenant of Moses. Addressed to Noah and his sons, the prohibition is universal. Moreover, because Noah already kept the prohibition, it is also an eternal statute and always in force.

Blood of the animals may not be consumed, also because they need it in front of the altar. With the blood they can supplicate (*tamāhlala*) themselves (6.14d), make atonement (*ʿastaraya*) for themselves

²⁴ In nearly the same form, the prohibition is found in Lev. 3.17 'You may not eat any fat nor any blood'. Cf. also Lev. 17.12b ('No person among you may eat blood'), 14c ('you may not eat the blood of any animate being'); 19.26 ('You may not eat any animate being with the blood in it'). Cf. also Deut. 12.16, 23-24; 15.23.

²⁵ The same location is mentioned in 3.17. In Lev. 17.10a, 13a, this is described somewhat differently: '...any man of the house of Israel or of the strangers that sojourn among them'.

²⁶ So Lev. 7.27: 'That person shall be cut off from his people' (ונכרתה הנפש). Cf. Lev. 17.10: 'I will cut him off from among his people' (והכרתיו). (ההוא מעמיה). (אתה מקרב עמה).

²⁷ Cf. the rewriting of Exod. 31.14 in *Jub.* 2.27, where 'from among his people' (Exod. 31.14) is replaced by 'forever' and 'from the earth' (2.27).

(6.14d). The word used in 6.14e is the same as in 6.2, where Noah makes atonement with the blood. Blood is a prerequisite on the altar. It is likely that the author in 6.14de is referring to Lev. 17.11, especially to Lev. 17.11b.

| Leviticus 17.11 | | Jubilees 6.14de | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|--|
| 11a | FOR THE LIFE OF ANIMATE BEINGS IS IN THE BLOOD; | | (cf. Jub 6.7b) |
| 11b | AND I HAVE GIVEN <i>it</i> FOR YOU <i>upon</i> the altar | 14d | ... SO THAT THEY MAY CONTINUE SUPPLICATING FOR THEMSELVES with <i>blood in front of</i> the altar EACH AND EVERY DAY. |
| | to make atonement <i>for your souls</i> ; | e | IN THE MORNING AND IN THE EVENING CONTINUALLY they make atonement <i>for themselves</i> BEFORE THE LORD |
| 11c | FOR IT IS THE BLOOD THAT MAKES ATONEMENT BY REASON OF THE LIFE | | |

Leviticus 17.11 gives the twofold motivation for the prohibition from consuming blood. The author of *Jubilees* refers to the anthropological motivation (Lev. 17.11a) in 6.7b. He now refers to the theological motivation. The blood is used with regard to the altar, to make supplication and atonement. 6.14de is put in parallelism,²⁸ and therefore it is a sort of doubling of Lev. 17.11b. There are, however, some variations between the two texts. In Leviticus it is a divine stipulation for the use of the sacrificial blood. The expiatory blood is presented as a gift of God. This is not taken up in *Jubilees*. In Leviticus the blood is given ‘upon’ (עַל) the altar, in *Jubilees* ‘in front of’ (*baqedma*) the altar. Whereas Leviticus speaks about making atonement ‘for your souls’ (עַל-נַפְשֵׁיכֶם), *Jubilees* uses the preposition *ba’enta* plus suffix, which could reflect עַל plus suffix.

²⁸ Note the parallelism between ‘they may supplicate for themselves’ and ‘they make atonement for themselves’, between ‘in front of the altar’ and ‘before the Lord’, and between ‘each and every day’ and ‘in the morning and in the evening continually’.

The Sign of the Covenant (Genesis 9.12-17 and Jubilees 6.15-22)

Jubilees 6.15-22 can be divided in two parts: 6.15-16, which runs parallel with the biblical text (Gen. 9.12-17) and deals with the sign of the covenant for Noah and his sons, and 6.17-22, which has no parallel in the biblical text and deals with the consequences of this covenant for later generations.

The Rainbow in the Clouds. Genesis 9.12-17 deals with the sign of the covenant, the rainbow in the cloud. The text consists of two direct speeches (9.12-16; 9.17). There are many verbal repetitions in this passage. I point to the word 'covenant', which occurs five times: three times as 'sign of the covenant' (9.12b, 13b, 17b), twice as the object of God's remembering (9.15a, 16c). On one occasion it is referred to as the '*eternal* covenant' (9.16c). The 'bow in the clouds' occurs three times (9.13a, 14b, 16a). Five times, the partners of the covenant are referred to, each time in a different way (9.12b, 13b, 15a, 16c, 17b). The rewriting of Gen. 9.12-17 in *Jub.* 6.15-16 is a very short one. Characteristic of the rewriting is that the author does not summarise the content of Genesis, but takes up some phrases of it, which he modifies. There are many *omissions* in *Jubilees* with regard to the text of Genesis, and only a few *additions*. The text of 6.15-16 consists of two parallel sentences. The second sentence (v. 16) repeats the first (v. 15), adding a few elements to it. This is, in a certain way, contrary to the tendency to omit many of the other repetitions in Genesis. It stresses what is important for *Jubilees*. As in Genesis, a sign is given twice. Also, the promise that there would not again be a flood on the earth occurs twice, although in Genesis it occurs only once.

Some of the *variations* can be explained by the fact that the text of *Jubilees* is written in the narrative, whereas Genesis is direct speech. Instead of first person singular and second person plural (Gen. 9.12, 13: 'I give...between me and you'; Gen. 9.13: 'my bow'), *Jubilees* reads third person singular (*Jub.* 6.15: 'He gave Noah and his sons'; 6.16: 'his bow'). Some of the omissions are due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* avoids most of the repetitions of Genesis. He uses the word 'covenant' only once, and then in its most pointed formulation 'eternal covenant' (6.16). He refers only once to the 'bow in the cloud' (6.16) and to the partners of the covenant (6.15). He mentions only Noah and his sons as the partners of the covenant; the other partners are not referred to at all. First, God makes no covenant with the animals. They are subdued to men, and given to them for food

(6.5-6; cf. Gen. 9.2-3). They have, therefore, not the same responsibility as men. Secondly, at the moment of the making of the covenant only Noah and his sons are present. Therefore, *Jubilees* considers the rainbow as the sign of the covenant for Noah and his sons only, not for subsequent generations. The reference to future generations (cf. Gen. 9.12b) is removed from the context and put forward to *Jub.* 6.17-22, which deals with later generations. For them, the sign is not the rainbow, but the Festival of Weeks. With the omission of the animals and future generations in *Jub.* 6.15-16, the covenant is restricted to God, Noah, and Noah's sons. This also explains the omission of the reference to the remembering of the covenant by God in later times (6.15, 16).²⁹ In *Jubilees*, the rainbow is the sign, which God gives to Noah at that particular moment. It is the sign of the eternal covenant, but it occurred only then. In Genesis, the rainbow is not only a sign at the end of the Flood; every time people see the rainbow, God remembers his covenant. In this way the author of *Jubilees* is able to make the covenant of Noah a perfect prototype for later covenants, which are in fact renewals of this covenant (cf. *Jub.* 6.17-22).

The Festival of Weeks. *Jubilees* 6.17-22 is an *addition* with regard to the biblical text. Although the author refers to 'the book of the first law' (6.22), which is the Torah, no texts are referred to explicitly. The rainbow in the clouds was the sign of the covenant immediately after the Flood. It is called the *eternal* covenant. It applies also to later generations. Therefore the Israelites must renew the covenant each year (6.17). This renewal takes place on the Festival of Weeks. In this way the Festival of Weeks becomes in fact the sign of the covenant. The festival had already been celebrated from the time of creation, but since the time of Noah it was kept on earth (6.18). From the death of Noah until Abraham it was forgotten. Then the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob kept it (6.19). During the time of Moses it was forgotten again, therefore it has been commanded explicitly to the Israelites to keep the festival.

²⁹ The reason for the omission of the rainbow, which is visible to people but has the function to remind God of the covenant, is possibly that it would be otherwise conflicting with the omniscience of God.

The Bible writes about the Festival of Weeks.³⁰ Although the author of *Jubilees* does not refer to these texts explicitly, they exert some influence. In the Bible, it is the second pilgrimage, and occurs under several names: 'the Festival of the Harvest, of the First Fruits' (Exod. 23.16); 'Festival of Weeks, the First Fruits of Wheat Harvest' (Exod. 34.22); 'on the day of the first fruits...at your Festival of Weeks' (Num. 28.26). Other texts refer to the festival only as 'Festival of Weeks' (Deut. 16.10; 2 Chr. 8.13). The Bible does not give an exact date of the festival, but it is clear that it depends on Passover (cf. Lev. 23.15-22; Deut. 16.9-12; 2 Chr. 8.13). Deuteronomy 16.9-10a goes into the dating of the festival: 'You shall count seven weeks; begin to count the seven weeks from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain. Then you shall keep the Festival of Weeks to the Lord your God.' Leviticus 23.15-16a gives some additional information about the date: 'And you shall count *from the morrow after the Sabbath*, from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven full weeks shall they be, counting fifty days *to the morrow after the seventh Sabbath*'. The day on which one started counting fifty days was the day when the sheaf was moved (Lev. 23.9-14), but Leviticus does not give an exact date for this; it is only said that the moving of the sheaf took place the day after the Sabbath. Consequently there is no exact date for the Festival of Weeks either. In the period of Early Judaism there was much discussion about the exact moment of the Festival of Weeks. The discussion concentrates on the meaning of 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. 23.11, 15).³¹ According to the Pharisaic interpretation, it means the day of the first festival day of Passover, which is the fifteenth of the first month.³² The Festival of Weeks is fifty days later. Because the length of the months is variable (twenty-nine or thirty days), the Festival of Weeks is on the

³⁰ W. Eiss, 'Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum', in M. Albani, J. Frey and A. Lange (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), pp. 165-78; J.C. VanderKam, 'Weeks, Festival of', *ABD*, VI, pp. 895-97.

³¹ Cf. C. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Sieben und vierzigster Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin; Berlin: Siegfried Scholem, 1930), pp. 16-17; Eiss, 'Wochenfest', pp. 166-70; VanderKam, 'Weeks', p. 896.

³² Cf. *Sifra*, 'Emor 10.5 (100b); *b. Menah.* 65b-66a; *Tg. Onq.*, *Tg. Ps.-J.*, *Tg. Neof.* Lev. 23.11, 15 ('the day after *the first festival day* of Passover'). This interpretation can also be found in LXX Lev. 23.11, Philo (*Spec.* 2.162), and Josephus (*Ant.* 3.10.5 §250).

fifth, sixth or seventh of the third month. The day of the week on which the festival is celebrated is not fixed, but depends on which day the first day of Passover falls. According to the Sadducees, 'the morrow after Sabbath' means the day after the ordinary Sabbath falling within the week after Passover, i.e., during the festival of unleavened bread.³³ The Festival of Weeks, therefore, always falls on a Sunday. The day of the third month on which the festival falls is not fixed, because the date of the Sabbath is not fixed.

The author of *Jubilees* takes still another position with regard to the date of the Festival of Weeks.³⁴ In ch. 6 it is merely 'in the third month' (6.17, 20; cf. 6.1, 11), but later he becomes clearer, placing it in the middle of this month (15.1; 16.13). The most exact date is given in 44.1-5, although it is not stated explicitly: Jacob offered on the seventh of the third month (44.1). After this he remained there for seven days (44.3), then he celebrated the harvest festival—the first fruits of the grain (44.4). Finally, the Lord appeared to him on the sixteenth of this month (44.5). Therefore, a date on the fifteenth of the third month is implied. If this is true, 'the morrow after the Sabbath' should have been on the twenty-sixth of the first month, assuming a calendar of 364 days (cf. 6.28-37), which is the first Sunday after the festival of unleavened bread. The author of *Jubilees* does not mention this explicitly.

As in the Bible, the character of the Festival of Weeks in *Jubilees* is one of a harvest festival: 6.21 ('the Festival of First Fruits'), 15.1 ('the Festival of the First Fruits of the Wheat Harvest'), 16.13 ('the Festival of the First Fruits of the Harvest'), 22.1 ('this is the Festival of the First Fruits of the Harvest'), 44.4 ('the Harvest Festival—the First Fruits of Grain'). On the Festival of Weeks, one is to bring offerings. In ch. 6 the author is not quite explicit about these offerings (6.22c: 'I told you about its sacrifice'). In 15.2 the sacrifice of Abraham on this festival is described: 'He offered as a new sacrifice on the altar the first fruits of the food for the Lord—a bull, a ram, and a sheep...'. This is not completely in agreement with the biblical prescriptions. In Lev. 23.15-22, the following offerings are mentioned: two loaves of bread, seven lambs a year old without blemish, one young bull, and two rams; in Num. 28.26-31 two young bulls, one ram, seven male

³³ Cf. *m. Menah.* 10.3.

³⁴ Eiss, 'Wochenfest', p. 168; A. Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris: Cerf, 1963), pp. 101-104; VanderKam, 'Weeks', p. 896.

lambs a year old without blemish (with one male goat for a sin offering); Deut. 16.10 speaks of a freewill offering.

According to *Jubilees*, the Festival of Weeks is not only a harvest festival, but also a festival of the renewal of the covenant that begins with Noah's covenant with God: 'they should celebrate the Festival of Weeks during this month—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year' (6.17). All the festivals of the covenant in the book of *Jubilees* take place on the same day of the year, i.e., the Festival of Weeks: the first covenant with Abraham (14.1, 10, 18); the second covenant with him (15.1-5); and the promise to make a covenant with Isaac, when God announces his birth (15.19, 21). Isaac is consequently born during the Festival of Weeks (16.13); just before Abraham dies, he again celebrates the Festival of Weeks (22.1-9), during which he blesses Jacob. Part of this blessing is the wish that God will renew his covenant with Jacob (22.15). Finally, Judah was also born on the fifteenth of the third month, probably foreshadowing the covenant of King David.³⁵

Important for the author of *Jubilees* is the human acceptance of the covenant.³⁶ This commitment takes place by swearing an oath. Noah and his sons *swore an oath* not to consume any blood (6.10). Moses made a covenant, accompanied by an oath (6.11). From the context it is clear that this oath has to do with not consuming blood (6.12-14). Also, on the fifteenth of the third month Jacob made an oath to Laban, and Laban to Jacob (29.7). At the same time, the book of *Jubilees* put great emphasis on the Well of Oath; this also occurs in connection with the Festival of Weeks. It may be clear that the correlation between the making of the covenant in connection with the acceptance through oath is due to paronomasia; in the original unvocalized Hebrew text, the consonants שבעות can be read either as *sabu'ot* ('weeks') or as *sebu'ot* ('oaths'). The double nature of the festival (cf. 6.21c) may refer to it as a festival of first fruits and of making oaths.³⁷

In *Jubilees* 6, the celebration of the Festival of Weeks is connected with the remembrance of the covenant of Noah. The covenant has two aspects: on the one hand divine commitment, with the rainbow in the

³⁵ See Jaubert, *Notion*, p. 104.

³⁶ Cf. Jaubert, *Notion*, pp. 107-11.

³⁷ Wintermute, 'Jubilees', p. 67 n. f. According to Zeitlin the connotation of שבעות in *Jubilees* is not 'weeks', but 'oaths'; S. Zeitlin, 'The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and its Significance', *JQR* 30 (1939-40), pp. 1-31, esp. p. 6; VanderKam, 'Weeks', p. 896.

clouds as a sign that there would not be another flood on the earth; on the other hand human commitment, expressed in the oath not to consume blood. The Festival of Weeks, instead of the rainbow, becomes the visible sign of the covenant.

It is not completely clear if the correlation between the renewal of the covenant and the Festival of Weeks connected with the swearing of oaths dates from the time of *Jubilees*, or that it preceded it. As part of Asa's reaction against idolatry in 2 Chr. 15.8-19, a covenant is made between YHWH and Israel (15.12) in the third month of the fifteenth year (15.10), accompanied by festive swearing of an oath (15.14-15). Chronicles does not give an exact dating of the festival ('in the third month') and does not mention the 'Festival of Weeks' either. This does occur later, though, in the *Targum* in Chronicles, dating the renewal of the covenant during the Festival of Weeks.

The Calendar

The third and last part of this chapter (*Jub.* 6.23-38) deviates somewhat from the rest, in that there is no direct parallel with the biblical text of Gen. 8.20-9.17. It can, therefore, be considered as an addition with regard to the biblical text. The composition is comparable with the other two parts. It begins with a reference to the story of the Flood (6.23-27)—it mentions the events, which in the eyes of the author of *Jubilees* are the most important moments of the Flood, strengthening its typological character. The course of the Flood becomes that of the correct calendar. The second part (6.28-38) enters into the consequences of this for later generations. The memorial festivals are written down on the heavenly tablets (6.28-31), and Moses must command them to the Israelites (6.31-38).

This part of the chapter only refers incidentally to the covenant (6.35: '...lest they forget the covenantal festivals...'). It shows the importance of the true calendar of 364 days for the keeping of the covenant. If the Israelites follow a different calendar, then the festival cannot be celebrated on the same day. Then they 'walk in the festival of the nations' (6.35) and fail to keep their own identity.

CONCLUSION: THE IDENTIFICATION OF NOAH AND MOSES

In *Jubilees* 6, the author clearly shows that he wants to create a close relationship between the covenants of Noah and Moses. The covenants are modelled on each other. The point of departure is the fact

that in the Bible both Noah and Moses make a covenant, and both covenants have a common stipulation, i.e., the prohibition from consuming blood. The author of *Jubilees* strengthens the relationship between the covenants in several ways. He presents the covenant of Moses as a continuation (renewal) of the covenant of Noah (6.11a), but at the same time he extrapolates elements from the Sinaitic covenant to the covenant of Noah. I point especially to the horizontal aspect of the covenant. It is not only a gift and a promise, but also an assignment. It is made not only between God and men, but also between men and men. Other elements of the Sinaitic covenant which are included in the covenant of Noah are the moment of the covenant making in the third month (cf. Exod. 19); the motivation of the prohibition, both the anthropological with regard to Noah (*Jub.* 6.7b) and the theological (*Jub.* 6.14de; cf. e.g. Lev. 17.11); the using of the blood on the altar to make atonement (6.2, 14e; cf. Lev. 17.11b and other Sinaitic laws). At other points the author also extrapolates elements of the covenant of Noah to that of Moses. I point especially to the universalising tendency (6.11-14). Sometimes the author of *Jubilees* adds new elements with regard to the biblical text, with which he strengthens the connection between Noah and Moses. I point to the invention of the Festival of Weeks as sign of the covenant, and as festival of the covenant's renewal. This festival is kept by both Noah and Moses. There are some indications that the Festival of Weeks was celebrated as memorial day of the covenant in biblical times (2 Chronicles), but in *Jubilees* it is said explicitly for the first time. Both Noah and Moses are making an oath in connection with the covenant. Although this element is part of the horizontal aspect of the covenant, it is not said so with regard to the Sinaitic covenant. It is related by means of wordplay to the Festival of Weeks. The invention of the right calendar, which deviates from the biblical data, is traced back to Noah and is reinforced by Moses. As a final conclusion, one can say that although Moses is presented by the author of *Jubilees* as an imitator and one who commemorates the covenant of Noah, it is in fact Noah who is largely the imitator of Moses. Noah is made like Moses in order to be able to present Moses (as a priest), like Noah. The same trend can be seen in the covenants involving the other patriarchs. They adapt several elements of the Sinaitic covenant, but are at the same time considered predecessors of the covenant of Moses. The ultimate goal of *Jubilees* is to show that there is only a single covenant.

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